relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear. For example, the tail was given to his mother and the hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and the methods used but there were probably some that extended over the area of several villages judging from the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have been no cooperation among members of a family. Title to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

Division of labor between groups seems to have been restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

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[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

438 463 where these two rivers meet." As a further proof of the division of labor there has been pointed out the fact that in some areas many stone tools have been unearthed while in other areas no traces of them have been found.[33] There seems to have been no division of labor within a group although those who were more skilled in certain work would spend more time on it than the others—for the benefit of the others. In the *Watarishima Hikki* there is this passage, "There was much difference in skill in making *Torikabuto* poison [aconite] . . . they used poison prepared by those in the villages with a reputation for making it." However, aside from the distinction between the sexes, division of labor was negligible. The economic life of the Ainu in the age which is under review in this book had the various characteristics of a stage which (owing to outside influence, particularly that of the Japanese) had advanced from one of mere hunting and fishing.

[208]

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(21 361 The Ainu society was a small one. The *Ezo Sōshi* [The Book of Ezo] says that, "The villages in Ezo consist of five to seven houses. Those with more than ten houses are considered large." While vol. 2 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* [Miscellany on Ezo] contains a report by a Dutch vessel which came to Hokkaidō in 1643, "The most I have seen so far are twenty houses. The average village has six or seven to eleven houses. The distance between villages was one-half ri." As a matter of fact, according to an investigation carried out between 1789 and 1803, when Etorofu came into our power, among six areas of twenty-five villages there were none with over twenty houses, very few with over one hundred people and, at times, there were villages of no more than one house.[34] The villages were called *Kotan* and, judging from the fact that the Ainu had no word equivalent to *Kuni* or *Gun* it seems that their group life concept did not extend beyond the village. Their small villages were located along the seashore or on rivers where game was abundant and life convenient but their dependence on natural sources of food compelled them to change their quarters frequently as they followed game. The *Ezo Sōshi* remarks,

> Although the natives of Ezo possessed their own houses, they never lived at the same place all their lives. Whenever the game was more abundant in other parts of the country they would abandon their houses and carry their belongings to the new land, build another, and settle down. Such was the custom of the Ezo. Moreover, if there were places where fishing or hunting was more promising, according to the season of the year, they did not remain in one place, even for a year. They moved with the game and were therefore without a permanent home.

[33] Shiota Takichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru Senshi Jūmin no Fūzoku Shūkan (Customs and habits of the prehistoric people of Hokkaidō), *TJZ* 30 (206).

[34] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 29.

[P.16(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
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*648
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436

metals such as gold, silver, and copper out of the country. Another reason, advanced by the Commissioners, was that, if the Ezo who lived around Kayabe, where contact with the *Wajin* (mainland Japanese were called *Wajin* as against *Ezojin*) was frequent, were not permitted to use iron coins while the Japanese did, ill will might be created among the Ezo.[11]

Since most of the Ezo, except those living near Matsumae [called Kuchi Ezo] who came in frequent contact with the Japanese, were not familiar with the use of money,[12] they were not forced to use the coins and in Kunashiri Island coins were used only for the limited trade with Ezo women.[13] In Japan the value of coins constantly fluctuated but because of the fear that such changes would only arouse the suspicion of the Ezo, the value of iron trade coins was set and whatever loss was sustained from their use was made up out of the trade profits.[14] These iron coins eliminated barter, set standards for exchange, simplified business, prevented dishonesty, and excluded the use of rice as a standard.

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A. After the coins had been in use for a while it was possible for the Ezo to trade among themselves. Therefore, some of them went to remote areas where no trading had been done before, bought the products of such areas, and brought them to the *Kaihō*. In this way new markets were developed and the volume of goods in trade increased.

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171
511

B. The extravagance of the Ezo was checked after coins were introduced and they began to save so that, "They could buy just enough rice, tobacco, and sake, and with the rest buy old clothes thus keeping themselves and their families properly fed and clothed." And since women and children could now sell any amount of goods it encouraged them to produce.[15]

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[11] Ezochi ni tessen tsūyō kenbaku no koto (A suggestion regarding the circulation of iron coins in Ezo), in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (3).

[12] This is not the first time currency was introduced into Ezo. Excavations at Hassabu village show that it had been brought in much earlier. See *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10: 173. However, at the earlier period coins were used as ornaments and not as money.

[13] "The use of coins is gradually becoming a practice with the result that the Ezo, in a number of places, are familiar with their use. Since the Ezo at Akkeshi, Kusuri, and Nemuro have become acquainted with coins and their uses, barter trade has again sprung up. On Kunashiri the use of coins was first taken up by Ezo women." *SHS* 5: 560.

[14] "In respect to the exchange rate of money in relation to rice and other cereals a separate rate should be set up which will be stable for the first year or two because of the remoteness of the area. The coins to be used shall be *chohyaku* sen. [In those days, because of the constant debasement of the coinage, there were two methods of calculating money. In one, called *kyuroku*, 96 mon were considered equal to 100 mon. In the other, or *chohyaku* count, 100 mon equaled 100 mon.] The number of Ezo engaged in fishing is to be increased and fish such as salmon and trout are to be bought at a lower price." *Ibid.*, 553.

[15] "Ezochi torihakarai ni tsuku Bakufu Kanjōsho zonjiyorisho oyobi Hakodate Bugyō no tōsho" (Written opinion of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made. Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[1], the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76). According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers, while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

[1,2,3,4,Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

463
438 which were the main personal weapons of the Ainu males for gathering food.

462 Sex Division of Labour.

Construction and Manufacture of Gathering Devices.

Bow and arrow	Male
Deer-fence	Male and female
Associated hunting gear	Male
Feeding of hunting dogs	Male and female
Fish-spear	Male
Net	Male
Basket-trap	Female (if the stream is too big, assisted by male)
Weir:	
Making screen	Female
Making and driving pegs	Male
Building platforms	Male
Net-trap	Male
Wooden pick for gathering roots and cultivation	Female
Knife (sheath)	Male

Operation of the Devices.

Hunting:	
Hand-bow and arrow	Male
Spring-bow and arrow	Male
Ropes and wooden clubs	Female or male
Dogs	Male or female
Fishing:	
Spear	Male (occasionally by female)
Basket-trap	Female
Bag-net	Female and/or male
Weir	Male and/or female
Net-trap	Male
Collecting:	
Felling trees	Male
Materials for mats, baskets, firewoods, nets, threads, basket traps and weir screens	Female
Roots and leaves	Female
Nuts	Female (clibming tree, male)
Bark for cloth	
Clibming and cutting trees	Male

1, [Errata: the word "clibming" should read "climbing"--Analyst]